"Votes for Women," June, 1917.

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The month of May, 1917, if women's hopes are realised, may turn out to have been a memorable one in the history of the Suffrage movement in this country. The introduction of the Representation of the People Bill on May 15, under the 10 minutes' rule (when it passed its first reading without a division), and the passage of the Second Reading through the Commons on May 23 with the great majority of 289, are two events that augur well for the final success of this measure. Our view of the women's franchise proposals, contained in Clause 4 of the Bill, is substantially the view we have already expressed of the Speaker's Conference proposals, on which the Clause is based. We deeply regret that the opportunity was not taken to grant women their citizenship in a wide and generous measure of enfranchisement, which should place them at once on a level with the men, side by side with whom they are sharing the burdens and sorrows, and even in some cases, the dangers of war. But if the Bill now before Parliament represents the maximum measure likely to secure a passage into law, and if we cannot succeed even in reducing the absurd age limit of 30 fixed for women voters, we do not disguise our consciousness of the great advance that will still have been made towards our ultimate goal by the abolition of the sex bar in citizenship, and by the enfranchisement of five or six million women.

The Chances of Success

Although nothing must be left to chance, the chances of Woman Suffrage seem good ("assured," the *Nation* puts it), provided that the Bill itself goes through. As Sir John Simon pointed out in the debate, the real danger lies in the possible co-operation of all the various elements of the opposition to different clauses of the Bill, when the division on the Third Reading is taken. It is almost beyond the bounds of possibility, in fact, that Woman Suffrage should be voted out of the Bill in the Commons, but it is just possible (according to this view of the risks) that the whole Bill might be rejected because a majority of Members dislike one portion or another of it. But the small minority of 40 against the Second Reading somewhat discounts this less hopeful view; and the whole atmosphere of the debate tended to indicate the opposite conclusion—that, while disliking one feature or another of it, Members felt that the whole Bill was too good a one to be lost. And a substantial majority of them, one might further gather from reading or hearing the speeches, would endorse the view of the *Nation* (May 26) that—

> From the standpoint of social evolution, a Bill which places six million women on the register is second to none of its predecessors in importance, yet it seems assured, in the Commons at least, of immunity from any massive opposition. The opponents, moreover, were not all anti-suffragists. . . . It is, after all, precisely because all but the forty regard the need of a new register as urgent, and feel that the next House must be representative, that a measure of agreement approaching unanimity has been reached.

This seems to us to express admirably the feeling of the Commons about the Bill. But what about the Lords?

How to Impress the Lords

The Second Reading majority is a mandate to the Government, of course, to get on with the Bill as fast it chooses, and the Committee stage will be taken on June 6 and 7, directly after Parliament reassembles on June 5. The successful Second Reading will also weigh with the Lords. For Suffragists there seems to us to be a definite line of effort to be followed in the next few weeks. With a view to securing beyond all possibility of doubt the retention of Woman Suffrage in the Bill after it goes to the House of Lords, they must use all their endeavours to secure, not merely a majority, but a very large majority, for Clause 4 when it is divided upon in the House of Commons. If they support any amendment, it must only be one that will ensure a larger majority for the Clause than it would command in its present form—a quite possible contingency, we think. But the definite task for Suffragists, if we might suggest any task to them, would seem to be that of bringing pressure to bear upon Members of Parliament in the constituencies, or through the women who will be their constituents if the Bill passes, or, best of all, through organised Labour and other bodies of voters—with a view to securing their promise, first, to vote in favour of Clause 4, and secondly, when Woman Suffrage is safe, to vote for the Third Reading. That is the best, if not the only way, to bring pressure to bear upon the constitutionalists in the Upper House.

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PERIODICAL DIVISION

A Wave of Woman Suffrage

While we anxiously wait in this country for Parliament to do justice to British women, a wave of Woman Suffrage is rolling across the world. The most important news comes to us from Canada, where the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, is reported to have made a speech in the Canadian House of Commons on May 16, in which he spoke of Federal Woman Suffrage as a certainty in the immediate future. Our readers will remember that, since the outbreak of war, Canadian women have won the vote for the State Legislature in six Provinces (the latest victory being in Nova Scotia): the Federal Bill, now to be introduced, will confer the vote for the Dominion Parliament on Canadian women of all the Provinces, and should therefore hasten their local enfranchisement in those Provinces that have not yet recognised them as citizens. We give extracts from the Premier's speech in another column, where we also record some notable victories that have been won in the United States since Miss Sheepshanks' article on the subject appeared in the April number of this paper.

United States South Africa—Sweden

Chief among these has been the winning of Presidential Suffrage in Indiana, Rhode Island, and Michigan, though scarcely less important is the passage of the suffrage amendment through the Legislatures of New York State (to be submitted to the Referendum of the voters in November of this year), and Oklahoma (to be submitted in 1918). We learn, too, from the *Woman's Outlook* that an attempt was made last February to include women in the Electoral Bill then under consideration in the South African House of Assembly; and although the motion was negatived by 63 votes to 28, it was claimed that the opposition was based mainly on the inexpediency of amending this particular Bill and not on antagonism to Woman Suffrage. As we have heard this argument before in many countries we hope South Africa will soon see the wisdom of dropping it and dealing honestly and generously with the women. Another sign of the times has been Mr. Branting's proposal in the Swedish Parliament of adult suffrage for men and women as the best means of "uniting the nation at this critical time."

Is the Grille Doomed?

We can understand the desire of Members of Parliament, as expressed by Mr. Rendall, M.P., in the little discussion that took place in the House at the beginning of May, to see the grille removed from the Ladies' Gallery before women are enfranchised. From their point of view it would certainly be "more gracious that the grille should be removed by the present House of Commons, which has been elected by men voters, than by a future House, the members of which might be influenced by a desire to obtain the votes of women." At the same time, we do not think enfranchised women will want to waste their time in clamouring for the reform of an archaism that should itself be abolished. A Ladies' Gallery is as obsolete by this time as the distinction, whatever it is, that is supposed to exist between women and ladies. What women will expect from the Commons of the future, who are responsible to them, will be the same treatment as is meted out to men constituents. It is time that all these foolish distinctions were swept away; and we are sure that Mr. Dickinson, and others who backed up his admirable appeal for the removal of the grille, will agree with us that in future women should be admitted to the men's galleries in the House, and on precisely the same terms.

Vested Interests and the Babies' Milk

The public conscience is at last being awakened on the subject of the connection between the milk supply and the mortality among babies and young children. It is no longer only the women's papers that urge this indisputable point of view. On May 29, the

Times published a communication "From a Correspondent," in which the following passage occurs, in connection with an indictment of our milk supply as being both dirty and costly:—

> The plain truth that children die because there is profit to be made out of letting them die must be urged upon the mothers of the country. Unless reformers are assured of the solid support of England's motherhood they will fail in their struggle for the children, and the forces of vested interest will succeed as ever and fill the land with their false plea that everything is all right and that child-death, after all, is inevitable.

Such a passage as this might (or, more probably, might not) have appeared in the *Times* a year or two ago: it would certainly have had no point, if it had been published then. Now that there is some prospect of the working mothers of the country being enfranchised, there is some meaning in calling for the "solid support of England's motherhood" in a campaign against the vested interests which, as we have often pointed out in VOTES FOR WOMEN, were responsible at the outbreak of war for the postponement of the operation of a Pure Milk Act that was already on the statute book. But we do not think that so outspoken a statement of the case would have appeared in a daily newspaper like the *Times*, even under the cloak of "A Correspondent," had not the war taught us many things, one of them being that, as Keir Hardie said years ago, the women who bear the men are as important to the State as the men who bear the guns.

Items of Interest

The Bishops who, under the presidency of the two Archbishops, have been considering the report of the recent Committees on Church and State, presided over by Lord Selborne, have expressed dissatisfaction with the proposals affecting women, and request a reconsideration of these with a view to women having a larger share assigned to them in the councils of the Church.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, replying to a question in the House of Commons on May 9, said that as the Solicitors (Qualification of Women) Bill which was passed in the Lords without a division, was a private Bill, he regretted that the Government could not give it facilities.

The death is reported of Mrs. Belva Lockwood, who was born in New York State in 1830. She was a famous pioneer in the woman's movement in America, was the first woman to be called to the Bar of the United States Supreme Court (1879), and secured a substantial vote in several States when she was nominated for the Presidency in 1884 and 1888.

Miss Winifred Mercier, late Vice-Principal of Leeds Training College, has been appointed Lecturer in Education and Tutor for Secondary Students at the Manchester University.

At the annual meeting of the Auctioneers' and Estate Agents' Institute it was announced that the subject of admitting women to the examinations of the Institute had been under consideration but was deferred on the ground that the time was not ripe for coming to a decision.

Women are being appealed for as bell-ringers at Epping.

A woman was sworn in at Guildhall on May 17 as special constable for duty at Liverpool Street station. The Women's Patrol Committee state that fifty women patrols are being employed as special constables in Middlesbrough.

Eight hundred and thirty-two boys have been released from attendance at the elementary schools in Kent for employment in agriculture.

Wool-gathering, in the opinion of the grown-up guardian, has acquired a new significance now that children are being encouraged to go wool-gathering in the hedges to collect the tufts of sheep's wool that gather there for soldiers' and sailors' blankets and clothing.

At the recent Convention held at Philadelphia, Mrs. Bedford Fenwick was elected the first honorary member of the American National League of Nursing Education. Mrs. Fenwick's work here for the State Registration and higher education of nurses is held in high esteem in the States.

The Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation recently passed resolutions protesting against the obnoxious Clauses of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and urging that the Age of Consent be raised; and also against the inadequacy of the inspection of factories by women in Ireland, there being only one woman inspector for the whole country.

Speaking on the Government's responsibility towards disabled men, at a meeting of the British Immigration League on May 25, Mr. H. E. Easton went on to say that he hoped his remarks would catch the eye of the women "who would soon be eligible through the franchise to have a voice in this vital question."

The work of chimney-sweeps called to the war is now being done by women.

Women members constitute 10 per cent. of the total membership of the Railway Clerks' Association.

The Joint Committee of Irish Suffrage Societies has sent a resolution to the Prime Minister demanding the representation of Irish Women's Suffrage Societies on the proposed Irish Convention.

WHAT DOES BABY WANT?

By Madge Mears

The first week in July, we are told, is to be dignified with the title of National Baby Week. Exactly how this is to be celebrated, and what national programme is suggested for the occasion I do not know. Probably we shall be assailed from all sides with requests to subscribe to various schemes for repairing, during school hours, some of the appalling damage done out of school hours to the infant life of this country in the typical British home of two rooms and a cupboard; and many worthy citizens will preside at the opening of municipal milk depôts or charitable crêches, and plank down their guineas derived from the profits of the factory or munition shop, where the baby's mother works ten hours a day so that she cannot reasonably be expected to feed and nurse her child herself.

And if this were not rather a tragic state of affairs, it would be rather comic. We have "let things slide"—which means that we have let the heaviest responsibility for rearing the next generation of Britons slide on to the overburdened shoulders of the working-class mother until the load becomes too much for her and the consequences become too unpleasant and costly to be overlooked; and then we seek to patch matters up by subsidising the present system instead of reforming it, and obeying, in a grievously literal sense, the Scriptural injunction to let not our right hand know what our left hand doeth—so that our left hand is usually busily engaged in tearing down what our right hand has laboriously built up, and *vice versa*.

Poverty, the Real Trouble

"Do not waste your time over the Social Problem," says Bernard Shaw; "what is the matter with the poor is poverty." And this simple statement remains the first and last word upon the subject. It is perfectly true that the "mother in mean streets" is often a very faulty person indeed. She is not always particular about personal cleanliness, either for herself or her offspring; and sometimes she frequents the public-house at the corner, and quite often she brings up her little brood upon bread and margarine instead of upon whole-cream milk, fresh eggs, oatmeal porridge, and other dainties difficult to obtain or costly to cook. Yet it is not difficult to see that her sister, living half a mile away and made of precisely the same human clay, but with a few more shillings a week to spend, and a house containing at least a minimum of domestic conveniences, is exceptionally particular about personal cleanliness, does *not* frequent the public house, and has the most scientific ideas upon the subject of infant diet. You might not succeed in raising the first mother to the standard of the second by simply changing their personal circumstances, for (as has been observed before in classical literature) it is easier to slide down the hill than to climb up again; but put the second mother in place of the first, and she would swiftly degenerate to an even lower level.

Temperament on Twenty-Two Shillings a Week

I am sure we all number amongst our acquaintances a lady in comfortable circumstances who has never, fortunately, been thrown upon her own resources with an income of twenty-two shillings a week or thereabouts, but who still requires the united efforts of her family and servants to tidy up after her and prevent her appearing in public in a grubby and slatternly condition. The neat, thrifty, hard-working, "house-proud" woman; the easy-going, often very charming, but hopelessly forgetful and shiftless woman; the hypochondriacal woman, whose system requires constant support from doses of medicated wine at 7s. 6d. a bottle, or gin at 4d. a glass; the fitful, nervous woman who likes company and excitement, and prefers an evening at the latest revue—or at the pictures—to an evening of stocking-mending in solitude at home—these are universal types. But in two rooms on twenty-two shillings a week, the less reliable and admirable temperament soon becomes the temperament of a hopeless slut; whilst the other, more austere and self-sacrificing, may yet with difficulty escape becoming the temperament of a shrew. And in any case it is a bad look-out for the babies, not only during the one week when their interests are publicly remembered, but during the fifty-one weeks when their interests are publicly forgotten.

We cannot at present afford to dispense with the charitable crêche or the municipal milk depôt, since, while the grass of progress is growing, the babies are starving. But let us never forget that a baby lying in its charitable cot and sucking its municipal bottle, whilst its mother struggles, otherwise unhelped, with all her old handicaps of ill-health, poverty and social and political insignificance in the old familiar slum, is a loathsome spectacle. Because we hope that this fact is rather more apparent to women than to men—because we believe they are rather more apt to consider the root cause of such evils, instead of wasting time and money in a futile attempt to cope with the effects—may we not hope also that National Baby Week may be celebrated in the best and most fitting way by allowing the baby's mother a little more control over his national destiny?

Go Ahead, Mrs. Smith!

For my part, I shall not quarrel with the Report of the Speaker's Conference if it gives a vote to Mrs. Smith, of Paradise Row, before it gives it to me. I know Mrs. Smith will plump, at the first opportunity, for a good minimum wage for her man and a drastic measure of housing reform for herself, and will thereby do more to decrease the rate of infantile mortality than the most earnest social worker could do in a month. So go ahead, Mrs. Smith!

EVELYN SHARP'S BANKRUPTCY

Some interest having been roused by the announcement in the papers of Miss Evelyn Sharp's appearance in the Bankruptcy Court on May 9, we are asked to state the facts in connection with this. Like Dr. Patch, Miss Evelyn Sharp refuses, as a voteless woman, to pay Income Tax on her earnings, on the constitutional ground that to do so would be to submit to "taxation without representation," and would contravene the basic principle of British freedom laid down by Magna Carta and ratified by the Bill of Rights. This, she considers, is not a question of tactics or expediency; it is a question of principle. It therefore holds good whether in war or peace. Indeed, the present war accentuates the meaning of the ancient right of the people to refuse to be taxed without their consent; for, whatever opinion we may hold about the origins of the war, we probably all agree that the thousands of young men who have fought in it believed that they were fighting for freedom, for the rights of democracies as opposed to bureaucratic despotism. And in this country democratic freedom is based on the doctrine of "No Taxation without Representation—No Government without Consent of the Governed."

The Crown, however, took the opportunity, as soon as war broke out, to claim Income Tax from Miss Evelyn Sharp, not only for the current year, but for the two previous years as well (all three amounts, of course, being assessed at the unearned rate). She refused to pay, and has continued to refuse up to the present time, when the alleged claim against her for five years, added to the costs of various judgments, has brought the amount to £56 19s. 10d. Some weeks ago the Commissioners of Inland Revenue filed a petition against her for this amount, and under a receiving order a meeting of her "creditors" was called at the Bankruptcy Court on May 9. The only "creditor" to put in an appearance was the Crown; the "debtor" stated the grounds of her repudiation of the claim, refusing all information as to her assets or property; and the case was left in the hands of the Official Receiver.

The furniture was removed from Miss Sharp's flat on May 14, and will be sold by public auction in due course. Her public examination has been fixed for June 12, and will be held in Bankruptcy Buildings, Carey Street, W.C. 2 (at the back of the Law Courts), at 11 a.m. There will be no demonstration of any kind; but if those who believe in the justice of her cause will support Miss Evelyn Sharp on this occasion, their presence will be greatly valued by her.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL

The dislike to the obnoxious clauses of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill does not diminish with time. At one of the interesting bi-monthly luncheons given in London by the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union, which was held at the Chantecler Restaurant on May 21, Lady Nott-Bower, the principal guest, put the case for the detention of "known prostitutes" under eighteen in rescue homes (under Clause 3) as well and as sympathetically as it could be put; yet the discussion that followed showed how averse suffragists of all kinds are to legislation of this kind. Suffrage Societies, indeed, are now to a considerable extent demanding the complete withdrawal of the Bill. This, we gather, is not yet quite the view taken by the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, which still hopes for the deletion of the bad features of the Bill and the retention of the good ones, offering the further constructive suggestion that a Commission be set up to consider the whole question exhaustively. This would in effect mean the postponement of the Bill unless it could be passed shorn of many of its clauses. The date for its further consideration in Parliament has not been fixed as we go to press.

The Opinion of the A.M.S.H.

(*Special to* VOTES FOR WOMEN.)

The Committee of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene has considered the Criminal Law Amendment Bill as amended, and while strongly supporting Clauses 1 and 2 they are unalterably opposed to Clauses 3 and 5. They have issued a striking manifesto on these clauses which contains the following points:—

> "There exists no legal or statutory definition of the expressions used in the clause (3) 'common prostitute' and 'prostitution' . . . A demand for proper definitions must inevitably raise the whole question of why promiscuity is a crime in a woman and not in a man."
>
> "What reasonable cause is there to believe that a girl will be likely to become a decent and self-respecting woman because she has been forcibly detained in a rescue home for three years?"
>
> "If the laws against solicitation were equal between the sexes, both in the letter and the spirit, this clause (5) would not be regarded with so much suspicion and distrust."

The Association again urges the withdrawal of Clauses 3 and 5 and the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to take evidence as to the best means for the restoration of young people who have entered upon a career of disorder and crime.

The Suffrage Societies

At a meeting convened by the Women's Freedom League in the Caxton Hall in May, which was supported by eleven important Suffrage Societies and other women's organisations, including the United Suffragists, the following resolution was carried unanimously:—

> That this meeting of women's societies protests against the Government amendment to clause 3 of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill on the grounds that its result would be as mischievous as that of the clause it replaces.
>
> We protest against (1) the establishment of an inquisitorial committee to inquire into "the mode of life and associations" of prostitutes; and (2) the power given to the Court to detain compulsorily girls of 16 and 17 in a home for two or three years.
>
> We see no reform in substituting compulsory detention homes for prisons, and deny the right of any Government to deprive these girls of all civil rights on the ground that they are prostitutes. We regard the whole Bill as based on the dangerous fallacy that compulsion and punishment are the means of "helping" an already friendless and penalised class, and are convinced that no amendments can make any difference to that penal principle which underlies the whole scheme.
>
> We therefore demand the withdrawal of the Bill and the postponement of the consideration of the whole subject until women are enfranchised.

Women's International League

The following resolution has been passed by the Executive Committee of the Women's International League:—

> The Women's International League holds that the course of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, both in Committee and on Report, shows that the whole of this very difficult and complicated question needs to be dealt with on broad principles, which have not yet received adequate consideration. Further, it holds that the considered opinion of women, and especially of working women, must be taken for any settlement to be satisfactory, and recommends that legislative action should be postponed until women have received a measure of enfranchisement.
>
> In the meantime, the Women's International League heartily supports the proposal for a Commission of men and women, to be appointed on democratic lines, for the full consideration of legislation dealing with the social evil, in accordance with scientific knowledge and fundamental morality.

PENSIONS FOR MOTHERS

A meeting was held in the Central Hall on May 23 on the subject of Mothers' Pensions. The chair was taken by the Earl of Lytton, who introduced Judge Henry Neil, the originator of the scheme now in operation in several of the United States.

Judge Neil said that the idea first occurred to him when attending one of the courts in an American city, where a poor woman with a family of five young children, which she was unable to support, applied for relief. Proposals were at once made for getting one child into one institution, a second into another, and a third into another; and Judge Neil, seeing the distress of the mother, who had not expected "help" of that nature, at once said: "Someone will have to be paid to look after these children. Why not pay the mother?" He then began a campaign for doing this; and his scheme was adopted by State after State. The pension, or maintenance grant, is paid monthly to such mothers as can show that they are unable to support their children. It is clearly explained that the grant is not in the nature of a charity, and the woman in receipt of it is subjected to as little supervision as possible. The system is found to work well, and the "bad" mother, of whom so much is said and written, almost entirely disappears when the conditions of her life are made tolerable.

Endowment of Motherhood?

Miss Maude Royden appealed to the audience to do all in their power to make Judge Neil's scheme better known. She herself would like to go even further, and wished to see endowment of motherhood—rich mothers as well as poor, as rich women would not tolerate the interference with their liberty to which the poor were expected to submit. She emphasised most strongly the need for raising the whole idea of motherhood, and the equally important need of personal freedom in this connection.

CORRESPONDENCE

Imprisonment for Vice

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Madam,—In answer to the letter of F. K. Powell—relating to my former article—I do say most emphatically that penalties, fines and imprisonment have *not* "put down stealing, forging, libelling, poisoning etc." People who wish to steal, forge, libel or poison continue to exercise these arts quite undeterred by the fact that they will be sent to prison if they are found out. But the impulse to steal, forge, libel and poison is a comparatively rare one; whereas the sexual impulse is universal; and so long as it remains hedged in by our antiquated marriage laws on one side, and our shameful and cowardly "conspiracy of silence" upon the other, so long will men continue to resort to houses of ill-fame, and so long will women continue to welcome them there. I am not quite sure if F. K. Powell is really serious when she writes: "Is it not understood by everyone that people are punished by the law *solely because they have done wrong?*" If so, she is an amazingly innocent person. Most people are punished by the law because they are weaker, or poorer, or less fortunate, or less well instructed, or more peculiarly in need of help and sympathy than the judge who tries them. Might I ask F. K. Powell to read and consider very carefully Burns's poem, "To the Unco' Guid"?—Yours faithfully,

T. O'Meara.

Reprisals

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Madam,—We desire to express what we believe to be a large body of Christian feeling in emphatic protest against the policy of reprisal, represented in our recent bombing of Freiburg. We believe that this would be admitted to be an innovation upon the traditions of the British Army. We know that some would justify it in view of the repeated action of the Central Powers, of which we desire to express unqualified reprobation. All the more do we desire that we should keep our National record free from that shame which has been incurred by our enemies. We would, therefore, with all the force in our power, protest against the adoption by us of precisely that method of direct and indiscriminate attack upon non-combatants, which we have been holding up to the condemnation of mankind.—Yours faithfully,

Walter P. Adeney; Clifford Allbutt; Harold Anson; Margaret Ashton; Henrietta Barnett; Vernon Bartlet; Harold Begbie; Cyril Bickersteth; Charles Brown; Sophie Bryant; W. Bramwell Booth; A. Clutton Brock; Paul B. Bull; Mary H. L. Bunting; Ronald M. Burrows; Noel Buxton; David S. Cairns; W. Boyd Carpenter; J. Estlin Carpenter; Henry Carter; H. G. Chancellor; Edward Clarke; John Clifford; Alexander Connell; Courtney of Penwith; Louise Creighton; Leonard Darwin; A. A. David; James Denney; H. Enfield Dowson; James Drummond; W. Moore Ede; George, Bishop of Edinburgh; C. E. Escreet; Zoë Fairfield; Millicent Garrett Fawcett; P. T. Forsyth; A. H. L. Fraser; Walter Howard Frere; Roger Fry; Gainford; A. G. Gardiner; A. E. Garvie; J. Monro Gibson; R. C. Gillie; T. R. Glover; G. P. Gooch; A. Herbert Gray; G. Buchanan Gray; Maxwell Gray; Eleanor C. Gregory; H. Hensley Henson; M. Hewlett; Henry Scott Holland; Henry Holiday; R. F. Horton; Howard Houlder; Katherine Price Hughes; L. P. Jacks; Emily Kennard; John Kirk; J. A. Lichfield; J. Scott Lidgett; Edward Lincoln; Greville MacDonald; J. J. Mallon; Alex. Martin; H. W. Massingham; F. B. Meyer; J. H. Muirhead; J. H. Oldham; John Oman; C. Oxon; Henry Parkinson; J. L. Paton; Arthur S. Peake; Theodore Petriburg; J. C. Pringle; Will Reason; D. L. Ritchie; Maud Selborne; W. B. Selbie; H. R. L. Sheppard; J. G. Simpson; John Skinner; Annie H. Small; Constance Smith; J. Sodor and Man; Malcolm Spencer; Tissington Tatlow; W. Temple; E. J. Urwick; Jane Walker; Sidney Webb; Alexander Whyte, Jane E. Whyte, Philip H. Wicksteed, G. Fleming Williams, James M. Wilson, Edw. Winton, H. G. Wood.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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JUNE, 1917.

THE PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH WE ARE FIGHTING

> Six weeks or so ago I was on the Vimy Ridge, and, walking about there, one saw numbers of dead lying about. There was one man who has remained fixed in my memory ever since. It was one of our own men, a young corporal. He was sitting in a shallow shell hole with his steel helmet just over his eyes, as though he were shading them from the sun, while he gazed in contemplative mood upon all the destruction, devastation, death, and horrors of war which were all round. He was quite dead. . . . That man died for his country, and for the principles for which we are fighting, and it is because I sincerely and honestly think it is our duty to do what we can to insure that the country for which he died shall be made, if possible, a better and happier and a brighter place for those people who live in it, and I hope the Bill in its eventual result will lead to that, that I shall support the Bill. (*Captain O'Neill, M.P., in the House of Commons on May* 23).

The highly satisfactory majority of 289, by which the Representation of the People Bill passed its Second Reading in the House of Commons on May 23, takes the Bill a good step on the road towards its final incorporation in the statute book. And this, not only because of the obvious effect of such a majority in curtailing the further stages of the Bill in the House of Commons, but still more because of its influence upon the attitude of the House of Lords. In the Lower House, it has now been made possible for the Government to apply the closure, if they so wish, and thus to hasten the measure through Committee. Mr. Walter Long, in winding up the Debate, said:—

> It will take us how long to pass this Bill—six weeks? [An Hon. Member: "No!"] What, then, will it be? It shall be less if you like, but I put it as short as I can imagine it is possible to be. My right hon. friend the Leader of the House supposes that we will do it in less time.

This was his estimate before the division was taken; and it may be assumed that, in view of the favourable figures, the foreshadowed period of six weeks will not be lengthened in actual fact. That, then, is one possible result of the large majority. The other result—its effect upon the Bill when it reaches the Lords—is still more important. For such an expression of opinion in the People's House must necessarily tend to dissipate any constitutional scruples that may lurk among the members of the Upper House as to the justification for touching the basis of the franchise in the middle of a great war.

The Prospects of Clause 4

The prospects of the whole Bill cannot, however, be discussed, and least of all in these columns, apart from the prospects of Woman Suffrage in it. Mr. Walter Long, introducing the Bill on May 15, said with regard both to the enfranchisement of women and proportional representation:—

> The Government feel, as has already been announced by the Prime Minister, that these two questions are in a somewhat different category, and the Government propose to leave them to be decided by the House on the clear understanding that they are to be considered by the House and rejected or adopted as recommended by the Speaker's Conference.

This, if it means what it says, means that the Government Whips will not be put on in favour of Clause 4 (which embodies the women's franchise proposals) but may be put on against any amendments to this Clause. "That," says the *Nation*, "is hardly a defensible attitude"—and clearly, if amendments are to be vetoed, women would appear to have at least the right to demand that the Clause, after it has passed the Commons, shall become an integral part of the Bill before it goes up to the Lords. Some of the Suffrage and other women's organizations, including the N.U.W.S.S., the Women's International League, and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, have, indeed, sent up resolutions to this effect to the Government. On the other hand, it is not at all certain, in view of the composition of the present Cabinet, whether this is a tactically sound policy to pursue with regard to the House of Lords. It would, for one thing, create an impossible situation for Lord Curzon, who represents the Government in that House; and one of the main objects of the Speaker's Conference (on whose Report the Bill is based) has been throughout to avoid placing any extremist of any party in an impossible position. And there is further the doubt whether the Government whips would in any case exert that terrorising influence in the Upper House that they are supposed to possess for the Lower House.

Can Clause 4 be Amended?

This brings the Suffragists once more to a consideration of the desirability of pressing for the amendment of Clause 4, always supposing that such a policy shall not in any way develop into a wrecking policy. Wrecking tactics could, however, be guarded against if the Suffragists, both outside and inside Parliament, were to keep closely in touch during the passage of the Bill. This interchange of views (according to the *Times*) has been already established; and there can be no danger of imperilling the chances of the Bill if, in addition to this co-operation, members of Parliament, who are known to be sound on the question, were to be urged by their constituents, and by women who hope shortly to become their constituents, to do their best to widen Clause 4 so long as in their judgment this is a practicable course to pursue. And here it is very necessary to remember that, in order to impress the Lords with the importance of keeping Woman Suffrage in the Bill, Clause 4 must be passed by the Commons with the largest possible majority, and it is to this end that the main efforts of all Suffragists should be directed as soon as the Bill goes into Committee. But this does not necessarily mean that amendment is out of the question. On the contrary, there was nothing in the Second Reading debate to indicate that any majority in the House were enthusiastic about what Lord Hugh Cecil called "the most absurd proposal ever put forward"—the fixing of the age limit for women voters at thirty. Lord Hugh Cecil was, however, opposing the whole Bill; and that is why Suffragists must, before all things, keep in mind the danger of playing into the hands of the enemy.

The Gates of Liberty

Whether Clause 4 is amended or not in Committee, there is probably little likelihood that it will not be included in the Bill when it leaves the House of Commons. The danger to the Bill, as more than one speaker pointed out, and notably Sir John Simon, lies rather in other directions, and most of all in the possibility that opponents of different parts of the Bill might unite in voting against the Third Reading. It would be a national calamity if this were to be the case. "The only way," said Lord Henry Bentinck, in what was in some respects one of the finest speeches in the debate, "in which this House can be independent and have sufficient confidence to exercise control over the Government, is to be thoroughly representative of the people and thoroughly in touch with them." And he went on to say:—

> There may be, as is often prophesied, difficult times ahead of us in this country, but I cannot help feeling that if we are wise enough to throw open widely the gates of liberty, as the ex-Prime Minister said the other day, liberty would be justified of its children, and we may look forward to the future with confidence and hope.

Citizens or Drudges?

We could wish that the gates of liberty were going to be opened wider for women than this Bill proposes to open them. But, said Lord Henry Bentinck, in the course of the same speech:—

> I do not base the claims for women on the work which they have done during this war. I base the claims for women on higher grounds than that. It seems to me that the claims of women are as old as Christianity itself. If our religion has not taught us the equal value of men and women in the eyes of the Maker, then our religion has taught us very little indeed. If that is granted, then women have a right equally with men to co-operate in the framing of society so that it will express the image of a better time. . . . We have made the fullest use of the wonderful self-sacrifice which women have shown in this war. There is nothing which we have not asked of them, and the question seems to me to be this—are we to treat women as drudges or as citizens?

"The Principles for which We are Fighting"

This is profoundly true. But even if the best cannot happen all at once, and if women have to accept a restricted franchise for a time—even if it is impossible for Suffragists to succeed in widening the basis of their admission to the rights of citizenship, no one, man or woman, who cares for freedom and has hope for the future of the world, can deny that the passage of the Representation of the People Bill as it stands—no better and no worse than that—will mean that we have passed another landmark in the long story of democracy. At the head of this article stand some very noble and very moving words, spoken in the House of Commons by one who had lately returned from the Front. "The principles for which we are fighting" may have become dimmed and blurred in the strife and sordidness of three years of war. But if anything can inspire those principles afresh in the hearts of the people, and ensure that the country for which men are dying to-day "shall be made a better and a happier and brighter place for the people who live in it," it would be the extension of more liberty to the people, both men and women, and more power to the people, both men and women, to refashion the world that is being devastated by the passions and the conflict of the moment. The Bill before Parliament is not a great Bill; it is only a clever Bill. But by the recognition of the rights of women it will at last wipe away the deepest stain on that national honour for which so many thousands of lives are now being sacrificed.

Evelyn Sharp.

DUST IN THE BALANCE

By Laurence Housman

When the Woman's Movement first proved its reality, by public demonstration through the will of its members to suffer and die individually so that all might attain, it proved other things as well. It proved, or began to show proof of, the real nature of the forces opposed to it. Women did not merely throw themselves into a struggle which in its momentary fortunes was often dubious, confused, even adverse; they threw themselves into the balance to be weighed by a moral judgment, slower, perhaps, but more permanent in its pronouncements than those which are secured upon the field of battle. And by that same process of test to which they submitted themselves they brought into the balance, to be assayed against them, the things of dust which had covered the whole surface of our social life with a gritty and choking atmosphere of foulness and waste.

Life Duties—not Death Duties

That general atmosphere of obscuring dust, so uniformly spread that many had come to regard it as a normal and inevitable condition of the air which man must breathe, had never been so questioned, so analysed into its component parts, so demonstrably separated from the true breath of life, as in the strenuous years of woman's awakening which preceded the war. People began to see, as the dust piled itself in the balance against the living material which the woman's movement opposed to it, that dust was dust, no necessary atmospheric condition, but dirt, matter misdirected and misapplied. Women Suffragists—whether the actual vote meant little or much to them—came clearly to perceive that the fundamental meaning of the struggle was that, through self-realisation, women were out to rescue the life-values of the world from the trade-values, the life-duties from the death-duties, the forces of expression from the forces of repression which had been reared against them. Commercialism, mortality, and impoverishment of human nature were uppermost in our national life. For the sake of wealth we fouled our air, our land, and our water; for the sake of shareholders we allowed miners, railwaymen, workers, children to die preventable deaths; for the sake of male-possessiveness we allowed the effective life of womanhood to be cut in half. Outwardly toward other nations we were a free-trade country, because it suited our trade; inwardly we were protective of every vested interest, because it suited the pockets of those already in possession—mostly men.

Liberty—When Expedient

Then came war—war accepted by the public conscience because of a great wrong done to a small nation whose liberties it was also our interest to preserve. And because our conscience was right upon that one point, we cried that we were a land of liberty, a people who loved liberty. We were nothing of the sort; we were a people who loved liberty when it suited our interests to do so, and cared very little about it when it did not suit our interests. But we were also a people whose forefathers had, by their struggles, their sufferings, their rebellions against unjust governments, their imprisonments and their martyrdoms, secured a wider basis on which Freedom *might* stand—when it was our national will to give Freedom her footing—than perhaps any other nation in the world. The structure on which liberty *may* stand is, or was till the day before yesterday, of broader base in this country than elsewhere. That is a thing to defend, even if we only defend it blindly, automatically, under the pressure of forces which are beyond our power of control. But to defend automatically and blindly, though better than nothing, is not the same thing, or so good, as to defend intelligently. To cry that we love liberty when it is mainly our fathers who have loved for our sakes liberty which we have let go, does not help us to fight honestly and intelligently for honest and intelligent ends in a world which even in the midst of war is undergoing a swift and stupendous change. It does not help us or our rulers to view intelligently and to accept courageously the most tremendous victory which the Allied cause has yet won—the Russian Revolution. The fruits of the Russian Revolution are even endangered by the timidity and trepidation with which they are regarded by many in this country dull to the real voice of liberty, and holding in their own hands, concealed from the nation, the ends of peace and war.

This may seem to be away from the Woman's question altogether; but it is not if we remember that life values, wherever they spring up out of age-long repression, are our concern—are the concern of the Woman's movement, which is still the most essentially international of all movements to-day. Even in the midst of war, even where war-problems arise, we must keep the eyes which the Suffrage movement gave to us, to see what is dust in the balance and what is life. Do not let us pretend that this nation has had clear eyes for the values of life in the immediate past, or that through the limited and censored outlook presented to us by our statesmen it has clear eyes for them now. It has not. But where liberty suits our interests, there we love liberty still, and give it countenance both popular and official.

Women Who Are Free Already

In that connection the Woman's movement has won a notable victory, not through the nation's virtue, but through the nation's need. When we had to arm and organise ourselves, the women were called on; all the old imposed conditions were forgotten, accepted limitations were no longer the woman's strength and stay, her best weapon in dealing with man; for they offered quite obviously no strength and stay to the nation when the call came for national aid. And so the women trained by the Woman's movement came out and demonstrated in practice those life-values of energy of organisation, of courage in the service of the State which they had preached to deaf ears under peace conditions in vain. And in doing so they realised themselves—not only Suffragists, but many others as well—as they had never done before; and we see in our streets to-day, no longer as exceptions, but as a new normal type, women with self-reliance as their dominant characteristic—women who, whatever outside conditions may be, have become free in themselves. And these, whether you give them or whether you deny them the vote, are the new generation, the new strength on which the nation, in the future as well as now, will have to rely for much to be done that was once reckoned to be outside woman's sphere. They will never go back again to the obscurity and the narrow confines prescribed for them of old; they are a life-value, too efficient to be put on one side, and they are very largely a gift of the Woman's Suffrage movement to the country which denied them yesterday the political liberty they sought, and is still doubtful whether it is wise to let their political liberty begin before they have reached middle age!

Life Must Win

There may still be a political struggle ahead; but the demonstration of the kind of opposition which the movement must face has become more plain. On the one side is the old dust in the balance; on the other side is life. And we know, even as we knew in darker days, before woman's self-realisation had begun, that life must win.

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MORE SUFFRAGE VICTORIES ABROAD

In the April number of VOTES FOR WOMEN, Miss Sheepshanks wrote an interesting account of "Suffrage Victories during the War." Since then, news of further victories has come to hand, which our readers will probably be glad to have.

IN CANADA

Federal Suffrage is now assured for Canadian women (who have won such brilliant victories since war broke out in obtaining State or Provincial Suffrage), according to the Premier, Sir Robert Borden, who said in the Canadian House of Commons on May 16 that all the Provinces had asked that the reform should be introduced before the next Election. The Ottawa Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* adds that Sir Robert Borden is himself desirous of getting the Federal measure through speedily. This will mean that Canadian women of all Provinces will have the right of electing members to the Dominion Parliament whether they have the vote for the Parliament of their Province or not.

In the same speech the Premier, dismissing several Anti-Suffragist objections, said:—

> And more than that, in English-speaking countries and communities of this Empire which enjoy democratic institutions, I believe there is an irresistible tendency to give the womanhood of the Empire the right to have an adequate voice in government, and I believe that the tendency will act with increasing force until all women of the Empire have the right to vote in the selection of those who are to represent them in the Parliaments of the nation and the Empire.

March 21st —**Nova Scotia**:—Full Suffrage and the right to practise law has been granted to women.

IN THE UNITED STATES

March 6th.—**Arkansas** (Vote in primary elections).

March 29th.—**Iowa** (Constitutional Amendment passed by Legislature. Must be passed again before submission to electors).

March 30th.—**Vermont** (Partial Suffrage).

The following also occurred during March:—

Oklahoma (Constitutional Amendment passed by Legislature; will go to the electors in 1918).

Indiana (Presidential and Municipal Suffrage).

Chattanooga, Tennessee (Partial Suffrage).

Missouri (Presidential Suffrage passed in the House, but thrown out in the Senate; every chance of its passing next time).

New York State (Constitutional Amendment passed; goes to the electors in November, 1917).

April 7th.—**Rhode Island** (Presidential Suffrage).

April 18th.—**Michigan** (Presidential Suffrage).

April 19th.—**Nebraska** (Presidential and Municipal Suffrage).

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2. Telephone, Holborn 5880

THE CAMPAIGN

Friday, June 1.—At Home and Discussion.—Dr. A. Vickery. (Hendon Women's Franchise Society.)

Monday, June 4; 7.30 p.m.—Members and Friends' Meeting.—7, Corporation Chambers, Bolton

Tuesday, June 5; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club, 92, Borough Road, London, S.E. Speaker: Miss M. M. Green on "The League of Nations."

Tuesday, June 5.—Joint Suffrage Meeting.—Council Offices, Hendon. Speaker: Mrs. Corbett Ashby on "The Electoral Reform Bill and Women's Citizenship."

Saturday, June 9; 6.30 p.m.—Members' Meeting.—Co-operative Hall, High Street, Ashford.

Saturday, June 9; 7.30 p.m.—Open Air.—The Pump, High Street, Ashford. Speaker: Mrs. Baker.

Saturday, June 9; 2.30 to 5 and 7–9.30 p.m.—Joint Conference.—Spinners' Hall, Bolton. (Particulars from Hon. Secretary, Bolton U.S.)

Sunday, June 10; 5 p.m.—Open Air.—Hyde Park. Speakers: Mrs. Davies, Mrs. Gregory.

Sunday, June 10; 3 p.m.—P.S.A. Meeting.—Wesleyan Church, Bank Street, Ashford. Speaker, Mrs. Baker.

Tuesday, June 12; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker:—Miss Harriet Newcomb.

Tuesday, June 19; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Miss Elsie Chick.

Sunday, June 24; 5 p.m.—Open Air.—Hyde Park. Speakers: Mrs. Gregory, Miss Somers.

Tuesday, June 26; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE ON "REPRESSION"

An excellent meeting was held by the United Suffragists in the small Essex Hall on May 11, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke on the "Failure of Repression." The hall was quite full, and the speaker dealt with her subject exhaustively, showing the utter futility of trying to cure human failings with increased punishment, and the stupidity of starting with the assumption that human nature is bad instead of good. She had her audience with her the whole time, and when discussion was asked for, nobody spoke until someone rose to say that everyone was in agreement with the speaker, and therefore nothing was left to be said.

Mr. Laurence Housman took the chair, and alluded in his opening remarks to the imminence of the Electoral Reform Bill, and touched upon its prospects.

Miss Evelyn Sharp also spoke, and gave an account of the bankruptcy proceedings which had been instituted against her at the instigation of the Crown. (See page 267.)

The above meeting concluded the series which has been held this spring in London by the United Suffragists. Further meetings will be announced as soon as the very interesting political situation, produced by the introduction of the Electoral Reform Bill, has developed more fully.

OPEN AIR CAMPAIGN

Organiser: Mrs. Gregory, 6, Gibson's Hill, Norwood, S.E. 19.

Owing to the increasing heat it has been found wiser to alter the hour of the fortnightly Sunday meetings in Hyde Park to 5 p.m., at which time they will in future be held. Will members and friends kindly make a note of the change of hour, and support the speakers as much as possible by rallying to the U.S. flag at both June meetings? For names of speakers see campaign list on this page.

Mrs. Gould sends in the account of an incident that happened on May 13, when she was the speaker. At the end of her meeting, which was very well attended by an audience so much in agreement with her that she could raise neither questions nor discussion, an Australian soldier approached her and said that she had not made some of her points quite clear to him. "You speak," he added, in explanation of this, "as though no woman in England had the Parliamentary vote!" We trust that this remarkable fact—which we are not surprised to hear was an incredible one to a citizen of a *real* democracy—may soon cease to be true.

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, S.E.

Secretary: Miss V. Aitken. Tel.: Hop 4172

Our Jumble Sale on May 14 passed off most successfully. Members turned up in full force, bringing friends with them, so that the many tempting bargains were soon disposed of, and a total sum of £14 11s. 8½d. was realised towards the Club expenses. We would warmly thank all helpers and friends who, by sending parcels for the stall or by helping in the selling, contributed to this result, and also those Club members who generously supported their efforts to help the Club by purchasing at the Sale.

Excellent concerts have been given during the month by Miss Brown, Mr. Threadgold, and Miss Maud Charlesworth. The meetings also have been much appreciated, the special speakers being Dr. R. W. Chambers, Miss Tynte, and Dr. Ettie Sayer.

We would specially thank the following donors for their kind contributions towards the Sale:—The Misses Brown, Miss Brewster, Mrs. Burns, Mrs. Cowles-Voysey, Mrs. and Miss Farmer, Mrs. McCall, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Mrs. H. E. Yarrow.

Holiday Fund

We make an earnest appeal to all the kind people who sent us donations last year towards this fund, which is devoted to (1) A day's outing in July for all the Club members; and (2) A week's holiday at the seaside for as many of the members as this can possibly be arranged for. The members contribute to both funds, but cannot afford the whole amount necessary.

ASHFORD U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Mr. John Marsh, 45, Royd's Road, Willsborough, Kent. Organizer: Miss Maude White, Magazine House, Winchelsea, Sussex

Open-air meetings will be held once a month throughout the summer. The first meeting will take place at the Pump, High Street, on Saturday, June 9, when Mrs. Baker, of the National Women's Labour League, will speak on Adult Suffrage. It is urgently requested that members will bring as many people as possible, and ask them particularly to buy the paper, Votes for Women, which will be on sale. Mrs. Baker has also been asked to address the P.S.A. on Sunday afternoon, at 3 p.m. Special thanks to Mrs. Caister, who is giving hospitality for the week-end. A members' meeting will be held at the Co-operative Hall, High Street, on Saturday, June 9, at 6.30 p.m. The Secretary is most anxious that as many members as possible will do their utmost to come to this meeting. Several members have written to the local M.P., asking that he will be in his place at the House of Commons when the Franchise Bill is under discussion. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, £2.

BIRMINGHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Julia Green, 13, Suffolk Street

A Members' meeting will be held at the Office on Tuesday, June 12, at 7 p.m., at which Miss Haly will speak. The U.S. were represented at a Labour League conference held at Saltly in April. Many subjects of special interest to women at this time were discussed.

BOLTON U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss S. W. Holden, 110, Tottington Road, Harwood

On May 7 our "Conversational Evening" was held, which proved so successful an experiment that it has been decided to repeat it at intervals. Thanks are due to Miss Donnelly and the Misses Gordon for preparing and serving refreshments. Mrs. Blincoe, of the Bolton Women's Suffrage Society, explained a Joint Conference of local organisations which is to be held on June 9, in which our Branch has been invited to co-operate. The object of the Conference is to discuss some pressing social and educational problems especially affecting women. Our usual business meeting was held on May 21, when the following were elected delegates to the Joint Conference: Mrs. Geldard, Mrs. Spencer, Miss Collinge, and Mr. J. Darbyshire. Resolutions submitted by the Convening Committee of the Conference were considered, and unanimously approved. Members are urged to attend the Conference. Gratefully acknowledged: Donation, Miss Wolstencroft, 2s.

HAMPSTEAD U.S.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss Daisy Solomon, 64, Pattison Road, N.W. 2; Miss E. Engert, 3, Pattison Road, N.W. 2.

A small but successful drawing-room meeting was held on April 28 at 13, Temple Fortune Court, by kind invitation of Miss Newcomb and Miss Hodge. Mrs. Pickett kindly took the chair, and we had the great pleasure of listening to Miss Evelyn Sharp as speaker. The collection amounted to 18s.; two new members joined us, and we secured a new subscriber for Votes for Women. We are hoping to extend the sale of Votes for Women during the summer months. Mrs. Philip Brewster has already promised to sell papers two days a week in Finchley Road. Who will follow her example? Offers of help will be gratefully received by the Secretaries.

KENSINGTON U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Postlethwaite, 47a, Earl's Court Road, W. 8. Telephone: 926 Western

Will any member with leisure help increase the sale of the paper this month by taking out copies to sell, or helping with the Shop while others sell? This work should not be left entirely to members who are employed all day. Jumble Sale contributions are welcomed, there being a constant demand in this neighbourhood for articles, the proceeds of which are devoted to Shop expenses. Grateful thanks to Miss Burke for her subscription of 6s. 6d.

LIVERPOOL U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Isabel Buxton, 111, Queen's Road

On Saturday, June 16, by the kindness of one of our new members, Mrs. Paul, we are to have a garden party at Caldy, Cheshire. Full details will be sent to members in due course. Our hostess is providing tea, and a collection to buy books for our library will be taken. We are grateful to Miss Brewster for a parcel of books with which to make a start.

HENDON WOMEN'S FRANCHISE SOCIETY

(Affiliated to United Suffragists)

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. McCabe, 49, Bridge Lane, Hendon, N.W.

The Society will have held two meetings during May by the time Votes for Women appears:—one on May 4, when Dr. Vickery dealt with the effect of the changing by women of their name on marrying. Dr. Vickery's paper was most interesting, and much appreciated by those present. The second meeting, held on May 25, deals with "The Financial Future of Women who are now Earning Salaries." Mrs. M. Mauchlen will open the discussion.

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THE FUND

	£	s.	d.
Miss Allen Olney	1	0	0
Mr. & Mrs. Aldis	0	10	0
Mrs. Auerbach ...	0	1	0
Miss Auerbach ...	0	1	0
The Misses Barrowman	0	5	0
Miss Barwell	1	1	0
Miss Benson	0	3	0
Miss Bergman ...	0	5	0
Mrs. Benson Clough	0	8	0
Miss Coster	1	0	0
Miss Crawford ...	0	8	6
Miss Dart	1	1	0
Miss Dalgleish ...	0	2	6
Miss Dawson	0	2	6
Mrs. Eagles	0	1	0
Miss Ellison	0	3	0
Miss Foll	0	2	6
Miss Brady	0	5	0
Miss Greenall ...	0	2	6
The Misses Gulland	0	18	0
Mr. Hease	0	5	0
Miss Holden	0	10	0
Miss Horsfall......	0	5	0
M. A.	0	2	6
Mrs. Masters	0	2	0
Miss Anna Martin	1	1	0
Miss Millar	0	1	0
Miss McNeill......	1	1	0
Miss Postlethwaite	1	0	0
Mrs. Potbury ...	1	0	0
Miss Reed	0	2	6
Mrs. Richmond...	1	0	0
Miss Sheppard ...	0	5	0
Miss Slay	0	1	6
Lady Steel	0	16	8
A Sympathiser ...	0	3	0
Miss Turner	1	1	0
Mrs. Baillie Weaver	2	0	0
Mrs. West	0	1	0
Miss Yarwood ...	0	2	0
Total......	19	0	8

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REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—1917

It is claimed that if the Bill goes through as it stands, 6,000,000 women will be enfranchised under it

Bill Introduced, May 15, by Mr. Walter Long :—
First Reading. Passed without a Division.

Second Reading, May 22 and 23, Moved by Sir George Cave :—Passed by a Majority of 298.

Ayes	329
Noes	40
Majority	289

THE BILL

The following is Clause 4, which provides for the women's franchises:

4.—(I) A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector for a constituency (other than a university constituency) if she has attained the age of thirty years, and is entitled to be registered as a local government elector in respect of land or premises in that constituency, or is the wife of a husband entitled to be so registered.

(2) A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector for a university constituency if she has attained the age of thirty years and would be entitled to be so registered if she were a man.

(3) A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a local government elector for any local government electoral area where she would be entitled to be so registered if she were a man: Provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified as local government electors in respect of the same property.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT FRANCHISE

3. A man shall be entitled to be registered as a local government elector for a local government electoral area if he—

(a) is on the last day of the qualifying period occupying jointly or severally, as owner or tenant (but not as a lodger), any land or premises in that area; and

(b) has, during the whole of the qualifying period, so occupied any land or premises in that area, or, if that area is not an administrative county or a county borough, in the administrative county or county borough in which the area is wholly or partly situate;

Provided that the occupation of a house shall not be deemed to be interrupted for the purposes of this section by reason only of permission being given by letting or otherwise for the occupation of the house as a furnished house by some other person for a part of the qualifying period not exceeding three months in the whole.

THE DEBATE

Passages relating to the Woman Suffrage Clause:

Sir George Cave:—It is estimated that this provision will add to the register about 6,000,000 voters, of whom 5,000,000 will come on as married women. On this question I have no palinode to write, for I have always been in favour of some measure of woman suffrage. I do not propose to argue the question now, because it is to be an open question, and because I hope that the main arguments on this point will be reserved until the time when we come to the clauses dealing with women. But perhaps I may be allowed to put this one question to members who have held, and still hold, strong views on this matter, namely, whether it is possible for us, having called upon women for so large a contribution to the work of carrying on this war, and having received so splendid a response to that call, to refuse to women a voice in moulding the future of the country which their help and devoted self-sacrifice have done so much to save?

Colonel Sanders (Opposing Bill):—I think woman's suffrage ought to be an essential thing in a Franchise Bill brought in at this moment. What do I find as to the position of woman suffrage in this Bill? It is the one thing that is to be left in the air; it is the one thing for which the Government does not stand out. If it is a matter of a change of residence or occupation or any small point of that sort—well, then it is a Government question. You get a big question like this—it is not a Government question! I say if you want to treat women fairly, we ought to get this undertaking from the Government, that if the women are left out, that either by amendment in this House or by amendment in another place, that defect should be remedied, or the Government will undertake to drop the other clauses of the Bill. In default of that, I say that this Bill does not adequately deal with the question of women's franchise.

Mr. J. B. Watson (Supporting Bill):—Perhaps the public opinion of this country would not be ready for a more extended extension of the franchise to women, but I think that that is the only ground, the ground of political expediency, which would in any way justify the age limit of thirty. Once you have granted, once you have agreed to give the franchise to women, the only logical way in which it can be given is, to give it at the same age as that at which men enjoy it.

Mr. Burdett - Coutts (Opposing Bill):—It is the introduction of two great fundamental changes in the Constitution — namely, proportional representation and woman suffrage, and particularly the latter, which has ruined the chances of this Bill being passed by anything approaching that general assent, without which, I would remind the House, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the debate on the recommendations said a measure of this kind could not go through.

Lord Hugh Cecil (Opposing Bill):—I do not think it really matters whether women have the vote or not, but I do think that the controversy about women's suffrage is a miserable one. The argument is increasingly used as to the controversy between the two sexes; it is the most intolerable we can conceive, and a question of that kind is much better brought to a close as soon as possible. I greatly regret that in dealing with women's suffrage the age has been fixed at thirty years, for it seems to me the most absurd proposal ever put forward. . . . What the Bill lacks is that most indispensable feature in any proposal for women's suffrage—it lacks anything in the least resembling finality.

Sir John Simon (Supporting Bill):—I regard the proposals for women's suffrage in this Bill as being an essential and integral part of the whole measure, and the Bill would have lost altogether the balance which it now preserves if there had been on the part of the Government any attempt to introduce the Bill without including women. I do not believe that the risk this Bill runs comes from opposition to women's suffrage.

Mr. Cochrane (Supporting Bill):—I think that this change which is proposed is inevitable, and I hope it will be conceded with as large a volume of unanimity as it is possible to get.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (Supporting Bill):—There is not a single public cause of righteousness, of justice, of mercy, or of wisdom, but woman has been connected with it. Her work has been essential. . . . So far as service to the nation is concerned, what would our nation have been without the service that women were giving long before the war broke out? This is a very tardy recognition of the obligation that this nation and every civilised nation is under to the woman worker, and I am very glad that the war at any rate should be made the excuse and the occasion for that recognition being embodied in a Franchise Act.

Sir H. Craik (Opposing Bill):—I see great difficulties as regards female suffrage, and I am perfectly certain that if I examine my conscience honestly I shall find that my opposition to that has come from the belief, mistaken or otherwise, that the granting of the suffrage to women will be against the interests of women in many ways, and is against what I believe to be the views of the majority of the women of the country now.

Sir Gordon Hewart (Supporting Bill):—With regard to women's suffrage and proportional representation, I will only say this, those who support the first are convinced—and, as I believe, rightly convinced—that the cause is just.

Mr. Herbert Samuel (Supporting Bill):—You must have a new register, and you must enfranchise the soldier and sailor. . . . Whatever your wishes might be, and however much you might desire to go so far and no further, in view of the strong feelings in this House and in the country when questions of the franchise were considered, women suffrage could not be left aside.

Captain O'Neill (Supporting Bill):—I must confess that the general conduct of women during this war, and the fact that they have undertaken physical duties which I personally

(*Continued on next page.*)

THE DIVISION

We have not space to print the names of the 329 members who composed the Ayes, and recommend our readers to procure the Parliamentary Debates, May 22 and 23, for these and other particulars.

NOES

Banbury, Rt. Hon. Sir F. G.
Bathurst, Col. Hon. A. B. (Glouc., E.)
Bellairs, Commander C. W.
Blair, Reginald
Boles, Lieut.-Col. Denis Fortescue
Bowden, Major G. R. Harland
Boyle, William (Norfolk, Mid)
Boyton, James
Burdett-Coutts, W.
Carnegie, Lieut.-Col. D. G.
Cautley, H. S.
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Oxford University)
Coats, Sir Stuart A. (Wimbledon)
Craik, Sir Henry
Dixon, C. H.
Eyres-Monsell, Bolton M.
Grant, James Augustus
Gretton, John
Hamilton, C. G. C. (Ches., Altrincham)
Hamilton, Lord C. J. (Kensington, S.)
Jackson, Sir John (Devonport)
Kinloch-Cooke, Sir Clement
Lloyd, George Butler (Shrewsbury)
Mallaby-Deeley, Harry
Meux, Hon. Sir Hedworth
Meysey-Thompson, Colonel E. C.
Nicholson, William G. (Petersfield)
Nield, Herbert
Paget, Almeric Hugh
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Rawlinson, John Frederick Peel
Reid, Rt. Hon. Sir George H.
Remnant, James Farquharson
Samuel, Samuel (Wandsworth)
Terrell, G. (Wilts, N.W.)
Terrell, Henry (Gloucester)
Warde, Colonel C. E. (Kent, Mid)
Wilson-Fox, Henry
Wood, John (Stalybridge)
Yate, Colonel C. E.
TELLERS FOR THE NOES: Col. Sanders and Col. Archer-Shee.

should have thought it impossible for them to carry out, have caused me, possibly illogically, in view of the reasons with which I supported my former opinion, to change my view, and I shall certainly not oppose this Bill on any question of extending the franchise to women.

Mr. Wardle (Supporting Bill):—Being what may be called the very advanced section of this House in regard to the franchise question, we came to the conclusion that we could not get all our own way—that was an impossibility—and that it was necessary under the circumstances that we should arrive, if possible, at a practical agreement which would take us a long way on the road to real franchise reform.

Sir George Reid (Opposing Bill):—With respect to the female franchise, some hon. Members, it would appear, have only discovered that it is a subject for consideration. I knew it before I could walk.

Mr. Hayes Fisher (Supporting Bill): —Do not the ladies read our Debates? Will they not read to-day of recantation after recantation; of one Member after another getting up and intimating that he has changed his mind, that whereas he was opposed to woman suffrage, he has now thrown in his lot with the women, and thinks they ought to be given the franchise? Has there been one recantation on the other side? Does the House really seriously think that if the Government brings in a Bill to put soldiers and sailors on the register, whether twenty-one or not, to which Bill no amendment to graft upon it the question of women suffrage is possible, do hon. Members think that such a Bill would have a quiet and easy passage through this House? Do they think that the women would be as quiet, and as well-ordered, or would do quite such a good work as they have done? I do not know. We all have the same opportunity for estimating what will happen in the House of Commons should such a measure be introduced. But for my part, as an old Whip, I should be very sorry to whip on that day. I feel that that is an impossible alternative.

Sir F. Banbury (Opposing Bill):—It is by no means certain that women want it themselves. It must be remembered that the women who wanted the vote wanted it before the war, and they wanted it for reasons not connected with war. I do not think it is at all evident—I am not in a position to say with any degree of authority—that women do not want the franchise, but I challenge my right hon. Friend or anyone else to show that they do.

Mr. G. Thorne (Supporting Bill): —I believe that men and women ought to be made as keenly interested as it is possible to make them in the welfare of this country, and to secure that in the first place they must have the vote; in the next place that vote must be made as effective as possible. This Bill does not go so far as I would like; it is a compromise, and the very fact that it is is a justification for bringing it in and passing it at the present moment.

Mr. Arnold Ward (Not voting either way):—As an opponent of women's suffrage I feel strongly that this subject ought not to have been brought forward now, for reasons which at this late hour I will not restate to the House, and that if brought forward at all it ought to have been at least brought forward as a separate Bill and not entangled with other issues in such a manner as to make it quite impossible for the House to give an independent judgment on this grave issue.

Mr. Walter Long (Supporting Bill): —This Debate has been remarkable for many things, but amongst others for this: that many hon. Members, headed by far the most distinguished of all, the Leader of the Opposition, have not been ashamed to say that they have changed their views, and are prepared to-day to accept a measure for the enfranchisement of women. At the same time, may I point out that not one single man in the House who in the old days advocated the enfranchisement of women has stated that he has been obliged to change his views or transfer his vote. Consequently I am not prepared on the question of women's suffrage to promise any favourable consideration for the suggestion which the hon. member [Mr. Arnold Ward] has made [of a Referendum].

MISS ROYDEN'S SERMONS

We are asked to announce that the two sermons delivered by Miss Maude Royden at the City Temple on May 20 (of which the evening one dealt with the relations between the sexes), are being published as penny pamphlets by the *Christian Commonwealth* (Salisbury Square, London, E.C. 4). The morning sermon is ready now.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold public meetings on Wednesday afternoons at 3.30 in the Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn, W.C. (corner of Bury St., entrance in Silver St.). The speaker on June 6th will be Miss Margaret Hodge on "The Russian Revolution or the Evolution of Democracy under a Despotism." Admission free. Collection. Tea can be obtained in the Minerva Cafe after the meeting at 6d.

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